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- 2. Ever since 1945, Zapotocky supported the concept that the basis of all Czechoslovak foreign policy must be friendship with the USSR, because the great majority of the Czechoslovak people, after the sad experiences of Munich, did not trust the West to the extent they had during the days of the First Republic. Therefore, the secretariats of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) were instructed to exploit "Munich" in all propaganda activity as one of the most impressive arguments in favor of the necessity of close Czechoslovak-Soviet unity. Interestingly enough, Zapotocky believed in 1945 and 1946 that Czechoslovakia could also contribute to the rapprochement of the West and the USSR by showing that even a country building socialism could cooperate closely with capitalistic states in international politics. Zapotocky's position was similar to that of Jan Masaryk, who used to refer to Czechoslovakia as the bridge between the West and the East. As is known, this concept was definitely abandoned after 1948 and labeled reactionary.
- 3. Like all other Czechoslovak politicians, irrespective of their political orientation, Zapotocky agreed with the unconditional expulsion of Sudeten Germans. He was, however, at that time already aware of the fact that such a move would have certain unfavorable economic consequences for Czechoslovakia since it would be very difficult to replace some expelled specialists. He successfully maintained that it would be foolish to transfer all of these specialists at a time when replacements for them were not available. He favored the policy of keeping them in Czechoslovakia and paying them well until the time when replacements of equal skill were available. (Thus, for example, the adviser of the general manager of the Poldi Steel Works at Kladno, Humelberger, was allowed to remain in his position; his villa was returned to him, and he was paid a monthly salary of \$20,000.)

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many errors had been committed in the population transfer. The, German specialists who had been transferred either to the Western zone, or to the Soviet zone, were used in both zones for the quick reconstruction of several industries which had been Czechoslovak specialties (glass, porcelain, stainless steel, toys, artificial industrial materials). As a typical example Zaptical pointed to Dr. Ing. Pattermann from the Poldi plant in Kladno, who had been the greatest Czechoslovak expert in the special steel for which the Poldi Works had been world-famous. Pattermann received assistance in leaving Czechoslovakia and now works as a manager for an Austrian steel company.

- 5. Vladimir Clementis initially held the same point of view regarding the expulsion of Hungarians from Czechoslovakia as Zapotocky did with regard to the expulsion of Germans. Later, however, he was obliged to change his position as a result of Moscow pressure. Up to the time of the installation of the Communist regime in Hungary, not one Czechoslovak political figure publicly disagreed with the proposal to expel the Hungarian minority from Czechoslovakia. It was not until Communism triumphed in Hungary that an about face occurred in the thinking of Czechoslovak government officials who, under pressure from the Soviet Union, retreated from their original demands and gave their assent to the creation of a legal Hungarian minority, which would be guaranteed Hungarian schools and would be granted all the rights to which Czechoslovak citizens were entitled.
- Regarding relations between Czechoslovakia and Poland, Zapotocky in 1948
  deplored the fact that these relations are not what they should be, especially
  in the field of economic cooperation.

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| 25X1 | 7.   | in 1951, Zapotocky gave careful consideration to the   |              |
| 25X1 |      | existing international situation. 6 He asked what opinions prevailed in the West about the possibility of a new World War. He was surprised  | 0574         |
| 25X1 | ſ    | that, the war psychosis in Italy was not as great  | 25X1<br>—    |
| 25X1 |      | as in Czechoslovakia. he personally did not expect an armed conflict in the foreseeable  | 25X1         |
| 20/1 |      | future, but in view of the tense international situation it was not possible to assume categorically that such a conflict could not break out. Against the possibility of war, Zapotocky cited the sad experiences of the United States in China and in Korea, and the general antipathy toward war in the capitalistic states in Europe, especially in Italy and in France. He added that if war broke out there was no doubt that all of Europe would be rapidly occupied by the Soviet Army and that a very important role in facilitating  |              |
|      |      | this occupation would be played by the Communist parties in Italy and France which would create second fronts immediately upon the start of hostilities. The war would last a very long time (Zapotocky said it would be a Thirty Years War), and the outcome would be doubtful regardless of who won, since devastation would be extensive and reconstruction would require a long period of time.  | <i>:</i>     |
| ĄS.  | 8.   | Zapotocky felt that the United States had the economic capability to wage a long war, but doubted that the American people could bear the psychological strain of a long war and could avoid panic during the first air bombardments. He believed that the entire foreign policy of the United States is directed by Wall Street, which is interested chiefly in the preservation of the present artificial industrial boom. If armament production was to be stopped American industry would find itself in a deep economic crisis. When the question of war or peace is considered under these circumstances, the possibility of a conflict cannot be excluded. Because of the other factors cited above, however, it was possible to hope that war would not break out. |              |
| ^1   | 9.   | As examples of the great harm that the economic boycott by the United States had caused to the Czechoslovak economy, Zapotocky cited the stoppage of the delivery of technical equipment for the Czechoslovak steel industry which had been paid for in advance, and the export embargo on replacement parts for the Czechoslovak penicillin factory, which forces Czechoslovakia to buy these through Switzerland at a cost of about three times their normal value.  |              |
|      | 10.  | Concerning Czechoslovak relations with Western nations, Zapotocky stated that these relations must be based on strict reciprocity, since such a policy had had the desired effect in a number of instances. He admitted, however, that Czechoslovak relations with the West were growing steadily worse.   |              |
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|      | 2.   |  |              |
| 25X1 | 3. ¯ | Comment: Now the Poldina hut plant of the United Steelworks National Corporation (SONP).   | 25X1         |
| 25X1 | 14.  | Comment: Up to 1951, production at the Poldina hut plant in Kladno was not yet equal in quality to prewar and war production.  the difficulties in steel production are due, on the one hand, to a shortage of necessary alloys, an ever present problem, secondly, to the indifferent attitude prevailing among workmen, and, finally, to the fact that Pattermann  |              |
|      |      | had certain secrets of production which have not as yet been uncovered.  SECREM/CONTROL -  | 25X1         |

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| 5.  | Comment;                                    |                                  | the S                      | lovak minorit                         | v in Hungary | 7 Was    |
| Ĺ   |   | It cen                           | rtainly woul               | ld be interes                         | ting to com  | pare the |
|     | status of these two<br>respective states un | groups in rega                   | ard to right               | ts in and obl                         | igations to  | the or   |
|     | unofficial discussio                        | der which they<br>n of this prol | y live. Too<br>lem in Czeo | iny, there is<br>choslovakia          | no official  | L or     |
| . г |   |                                  |                            |                                       |              |          |
| 6.  |   |                                  |                            |                                       |              |          |
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|     | •   |                                  |                            |                                       |              |          |
|     | (x,y) = (x,y) + (x,y) = 0                   |                                  |                            |                                       |              |          |
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